

Domestic Spying Controls Urged

Senators' Report

Washington

The Senate intelligence committee issued a report yesterday that documented a 40-year pattern of official lawlessness by intelligence agencies during both Democratic and Republican Administrations.

It urged passage of numerous statutes and regulations and enactment of a broad legislative charter to define and control domestic security activities. The committee's report and recommendations on U.S. intelligence operations abroad were issued on Monday.

The 96 recommendations for domestic reform, aimed primarily at the FBI, include proposed legislation that would limit an FBI director's term to eight years; prohibit a director from supplying the White House with personal or political information about presidential opponents, and generally make intelligence officials more accountable for their actions.

The FBI practice of supplying political information to the White House began early in the late J. Edgar Hoover's 48-year reign as director, the committee found, but grew to unprecedented dimensions during the Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon administrations.

"We have seen segments of our government, in their attitudes and action, adopt tactics unworthy of a democracy, and occasionally reminiscent of the tactics of totalitarian regimes," the committee said.

The 396-page report, a searing indictment of Washington officialdom, said:

"Each administration from Franklin D. Roosevelt's to Richard Nixon's permitted, and sometimes encouraged, government agencies to handle essentially political intelligence."

The report documents not only numerous lies by government officials, but the institutionalizing of lying and other deceptive practices by the FBI and other agencies to cover up official lawlessness.

It criticizes attitudes of high government officials in condoning or encouraging lawlessness in the name of national security and details specific cases of abuse, including the FBI's intensive campaign to discredit the late Dr. Martin Luther King Jr.

It discloses that President Johnson and high Justice Department officials knew about some

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aspects of the campaign to discredit Dr. King, but took no action to end the campaign or punish those responsible.

The committee, headed by Senator Frank Church (Dem-Idaho), also blamed Congress for its failure to exercise proper oversight and for failing to establish precise standards governing domestic intelligence.

Summarizing the main abuses it documented during a 15-month investigation, the committee said:

"Too many people have been spied upon by too many government agencies and too much information has been collected. The government has often undertaken the secret surveillance of citizens on the basis of their political beliefs, even when those beliefs

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posed no threat of violence or illegal acts on behalf of a hostile foreign power.

"The government, operating primarily through secret informants, but also using other intrusive techniques such as wiretaps, microphone 'bugs,' surreptitious mail openings, and break-ins, has swept in vast amounts of information about the personal lives, views and associations of American citizens.

"Investigations of groups deemed potentially dangerous — and even of groups suspected of associating with potentially dangerous organizations — have continued for decades, despite the fact that those groups did not engage in unlawful activity.

"Unsavory and vicious tactics have been employed — including anonymous attempts to break up marriages, disrupt meetings, ostracize persons from their professions, and provoke target groups into rivalries that might result in deaths."

The committee reported that FBI headquarters has developed more than 500,000 domestic intelligence files, 65,000 of which were opened in 1972 alone. These files are augmented by additional files opened in FBI field offices.

In addition, the committee re-

ported that almost 250,000 first-class letters were opened and photographed in the United States by the CIA between 1953 and 1973; producing a CIA computerized index of nearly 1.5 million names; at least 130,000 first-class letters were opened and photographed by the FBI between 1940 and 1966; some 300,000 individuals were indexed in a CIA computer system and separate files were maintained on 7200 Americans; millions of private telegrams sent from, to, or through the U.S. were obtained by the National Security Agency from 1947 to 1975 through a secret arrangement with three U.S. telegraph companies.

Investigations of the lawful activities of peaceful groups have continued for decades, the committee said, citing the case of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The NAACP was investigated to determine whether it had "connections with" the Communist Party. The investigation lasted for more than 25 years although nothing was found to rebut an FBI report during the first year of the investigation that the organization had a "strong tendency" to "steer clear of Communist activities."

The committee cited some of the most liberal Justice Department officials of Democratic administrations for their roles in questionable intelligence practices.

In September, 1967, Attorney General Ramsey Clark directed the FBI to "use the maximum re-

sources, investigative and intelligence, to collect and report all facts bearing upon the question as to whether there has been or is a scheme or conspiracy by any group of whatever size, effectiveness or affiliation, to plan, promote or aggravate riot activity."

The committee reported that Nicholas DeB. Katzenbach, when he was attorney general, and Burke Marshall, when he was assistant attorney general for civil rights, knew about some aspects of the FBI campaign to discredit Dr. King.

Disregard of the law by intelligence officers was seldom correct-

ed, and sometimes encouraged or facilitated, by officials outside the agencies, the committee reported.

"Whether by inaction or direct participation," it said, "these administration officials contributed to the preception that legal restraints did not apply to intelligence activities."

The committee cited numerous cases in which officials rationalized unethical or illegal conduct, usually in the name of national security.

Former CIA director Richard Helms never seriously questioned the legality of the 20-year CIA New York mail opening projected because he assumed his predecessor, Allen Dulles, had "made his legal peace with (it)."

Former Assistant FBI Director William C. Sullivan, who participated in the drafting of an intelligence plan which provided for burglaries and other illegal methods, told the committee:

"The one thing we were concerned about was this: Will this course of action work, will it get us what we want, will we reach the objective, that we desire to reach? As far as legality is concerned, morals or ethics, (it) was never raised by myself or anybody else ... I think this suggests really in government that we are amoral."

On some occasions higher officials avoided dealing with the question of law or ethics by refusing to be informed about intelligence activities. Former Postmaster General J. Edward Day, visited by former CIA directors Dulles and Helms in connection with a CIA project in 1961, interrupted them before they could give details and asked, "Do I have to know about it?" They didn't tell him about it.

"Mr. Day did not learn the true nature of this project because he 'would rather not know anything about it,' the committee said. "Although rarely expressed in such unequivocal terms, this attitude appears to have been all too common among senior government officials."

Los Angeles Times